1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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of immigrants from neighbouring tribes have been adopted by a clan and subjected to the general rule of clan exogamy, i.e. the territorial bond has taken the place of the belief in a common descent, or rather local groups have in some cases become identified with kinship groups. In this respect the Katab present a contrast to their neighbours, the Morwa and Kagoro, among whom there is no bar to intermarriage between the aboriginal inhabitants and immigrant members of other tribes.

The territorial grouping of the Katab clans corresponds generally, but not absolutely, with the clan grouping. For though the Minyam and Aku clans each occupy in the main their own territory, the Agbat clan is split in two, the Kwak sub-section being separated from the Nje and Kpaisa sub-sections by the intervening clan of Minyam. But, according to tradition, the local grouping in former times coincided with the social. The small clan of Shokwa lives mixed up with the Kwak sub-section of the Agbat clan. Moreover, families or individuals of one clan may be found living in villages of another clan, and where this happens the usual rules of clan exogamy apply.

It is not uncommon, for example, for a man to take up residence in his mother's village, and in such a case he would be eligible to marry any girl in that village (provided she was not too closely related to his mother's relatives).

History of the Clans.—The Katab appear to have come into their present habitat from the direction of Karigi, some fifty miles due north of Zangon Katab, in order to remove themselves further from the slave-raiding expeditions sent out from Zaria. Their traditions suggest that they arrived in small parties, each of which became the starting point of a comparatively large social group which ultimately displaced the Chawai, Kachichere, and Rumada, the former inhabitants of the district. There are grounds for believing that neither of the small clans of Shokwa and Aku belonged to the main body of the Katab immigrants, and it is even asserted that the Shokwa were not immigrants at all but had always lived in their present settlement. For this reason, perhaps, Shokwa are the rain-makers for the tribe, and it is said that Shokwa and his wife, the founders of the clan, rose miraculously out of the Kaduna river. The Aku are said to have sprung out of the ground from the hoofmark made by

1: Meek E, G-5 (1925-1930) 1931
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Nje[1] horsemen, and owing to this circumstance they derived their nickname of *Bin shio* or relatives of flying ants. It will be observed that the clan titles are nowadays believed to have been derived from the names borne by the reputed founders of the clan, but there is evidence that some at least of the clan titles were formerly place names.

Clan Emblems and Taboos.—Some of the Katab clans have, as we shall see, certain animal or plant taboos, but these do not appear to be closely associated with the system of clan exogamy or to play a prominent part in maintaining the sense of relationship between the members of the clan. We have seen that the Aku bear the nickname of "flying ants" and, although the flying ant is not an Aku emblem, we are reminded of Andrew Lang's view that totems were originally sobriquets. It does not appear that the Aku have any general taboo other than the male shea tree (*nensham*). This tree may be cut down, but its wood may not be used for burning. If an Aku were to eat food cooked over a fire in which *nensham* wood had been used his body would become covered with sores. The leaves of this tree are used as a taboo, and no Aku woman would dare enter a house if the owner had placed a bunch of *nensham* leaves at the door.

The Agbat clan respects the crocodile (*tsang*). It is their friend and brother (*nanyuk*) and on it oaths are sworn. An Agbat, it is said, can play unharmed with a crocodile in the water. If he sees its dead body he hastily retreats, or buries it. He will not even touch a piece of crocodile skin. If he kills a crocodile by accident he must hurry off to the forest for some special medicine; if he kills it by design the entire clan will, it is believed, perish. The reason assigned for this association is that once in ancient times the Katab were flying from their enemies and came to an unfordable river. Crocodiles formed a bridge for the Agbat, but swam away when the other Katab clans tried to cross by the same means. An Agbat can frighten a crocodile by merely calling out the name of some other clan

[1] A variant account says that Agbat and his people were out hunting and came across the men of Shokwa who were performing certain religious rites. As Agbat passed them his horse's hoof made a hole in the ground, and out of this hole sprang Aku. Aku joined in the religious dance of the Shokwa, and was immediately acclaimed as a brother. There is a curious parallel to this story given in Hutton's *The Sema Nagas*, p. 124. Mr. Hutton says: "The Asimi abstain from eating winged ants. The reason given is that their first ancestors emerged from the earth."

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MORWA

101 Where the plural prefix *Ma* is used, it is applied to people of alien origin and inferior birth. The Morwa do not themselves use these typically Bantu prefixes, but many Nigerian tribes in speaking of themselves use the Bantu plural prefix *Ba*. The Kaje, for example, who are neighbours of the Morwa, call themselves [197] the Ba-ju, the Ikulu the Bakulu, and so on. The Morwa speak the same language as the Katab.

648 The Morwa are an independent tribe, though they were apparently subject in ancient days to the Habe kings of Zaria and certainly during the last century to the Beri-Beri and Fulani [174] dynasties of Zaria. The tribe seems at one time to have been located slightly further to the north (at Yelwa) and to have been [134] driven south by Zaria slave-raiders. The plain they now occupy is very fertile, and is flanked by the Kagoro hills which offered a safe retreat in time of war.

• 173 The ruling family resides at Manchok, and the present chief 612 states that his family came originally from Kabanchan, a Kagoro town in the Madaiki's district of Jemaa. The earliest settlers were the kindred known as the Ye-Lutsi who migrated to Manchok from Tankurang (Yelwa) across the Zaria-Plateau provincial boundary sometime last century. In this kindred is vested the priestly functions, and we have thus at Manchok the bisection so commonly found, into (*a*) the earliest settlers and custodians of the religious rites, (*b*) the ruling family, a later arrival.

361 The district consists of a number of village-areas of which 103 the principal are Manchok (with Kisagwai), Beniki, Bandong, Chori, Agbwat (Babban Gidda), Matok, Gora, Bungen, Zankan, 582 Mahuta, and Chonbano. All these are inhabited almost entirely by Asolio. Included in the district also are a number of villages inhabited by members of the neighbouring Ataka tribe. There is also a village called Nandiyam which consists of both Asolio and of Katab. There is free intermarriage between the Asolio and the sections which belong to other tribes, the marriages taking the form either of marriages with girls or of elopement with married women. In the latter case there is the usual rule that wife-stealing is not permissible among those living in close proximity, whether they belong to the same tribe or not.

612 The social organization is, as among the Kagoro and Katab, 614 of a dual character, i.e. there is the kinship grouping and there 582

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THE KATAB GROUP OF TRIBES

General

101 In south-eastern Zaria Province and adjacent areas of Benue and Plateau Provinces are located a number of more or less distinct tribes for whom Meek suggests the generic term, the Katab Group. He includes the following: Ataka (Attaka, Attakkar), Ikulu (Ikolu: not to be confused with Kolu or Kulung [Kulu] of Adamawa Province), Jaba (Ham), Kachichere (Kachacharri, etc.), Kagoma, Kagoro, Kaje (Kajji, etc.), Kamantan, and Moroa (Morwa). To these may be added the Kafanchan (Kabbanchan), which Meek regards as originally a " section " of the Kagoro; also the Daroro (said to be a branch of the Kachichere), and the Kaninkon (Kaninko, Kaninkwom, etc.), about whom there is very little information.[1] The order in which these peoples will be described depends on linkages between and among the tribes, largely as reflected in their traditions of origin and nomenclature; the Katab proper will be treated first chiefly because their name has been given to the larger group of tribes. All these peoples—with the exceptions noted below—are culturally linked by what Meek terms " the Katab culture complex," comprising the several features outlined below.

The Katab Culture-complex

(i) *Language*

197 In Meek's judgment, Ataka, Kachichere, Kagoro, Katab, and Moroa speak the same language, " provisionally included, on grounds of vocabulary, in the Nigerian Semi-Bantu group of the Middle Sudanic Zone. . . . It approximates in many respects to the Semi-Bantu type, but as the prefix system is very much less developed than in the typical Semi-Bantu languages such as Kurama or Ikulu, the Katab and allied languages should . . . form a separate group of the Middle Zone. If the tribe came . . . from the north, it is unlikely that they spoke a language identical with that of their present neighbours, the Morwa, Ataka, Kachichere, and Kagoro. Uniformity of language is attained and maintained only by continuous social contact."[1a]

173 By tradition, Kachichere seem to have preceded the bulk of the Katab in the area—though it is not known whence. Ataka, Kagoro, and Moroa claim to have descended to their present territory from the High Plateau (approximately the Birom tribal area [District], see below).

197 Outside this immediate area, close linguistic relationships have been reported only with Aten, Irigwe, Birom, and Afusare, of the High Plateau, apart from the Kadara: Meek says that the language spoken by Irigwe is phonologically remarkably similar to that of Jaba, and Ames states that the present-day Irigwe " tribe " (of the Birom confederation: see *Peoples of the Plateau Area of Northern Nigeria*) is derived in part from Kaje; and, according to Davies, the language of Aten is little more than a dialect of Katab, and Birom has many " word-roots " in common with

[1] Temple's identification of Kaura with the Katab group appears now to have been wholly erroneous: see data under *Dress*, pp. 66–7 below.

[1a] The links made explicit here by Meek are confirmed by all investigators; but elsewhere Meek has classified also as " possibly Nigerian Semi-Bantu " such languages as Arago and Agatu: Van Bulck has applied the name " Sub-Bantu " to languages of the Katab Group, and placed Arago and Agatu with such dialects of the language of Idoma as those of Boju and Igumale under the heading " Nigerian class languages," his terms apparently paralleling Guthrie's " Sub-Bantu " and " Bantoid "; on the other hand, the *Handbook of African Languages* applies the name " Nigerian class languages " to those of the Katab Group, and calls the Idoma dialects " Non-class languages "! Greenberg lumps Katab, and related languages of Northern Nigeria, with the Bantu languages of Central, East, and South Africa boldly to make up the " Central branch " of his " Niger-Congo family "—and, after Armstrong, the Idoma languages with the Kwa group, which he adjudges another branch of the same family.

[pp. 1-64 not processed]

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Kachichere

According to Smith, there are two communities of Aticherak origin in Kagoro District—Dussai (population 230) and Mafok (435): these have been so assimilated by Kagoro that they cannot seriously be considered as Aticherak, even though they have maintained a certain degree of integrity.

The people termed by Temple and Tremearne "Daroro" are apparently those called Kachichere in very recent years by the Administration of Jema'a Division: these Kachichere are located in a triangular area, Jagindi Station-Ungwar Audi-Nindam, some 35 square miles in area, virtually at the heart of Jema'a District, to the south of Kaninkon and 15 miles from Kafanchan Town. Their identity with the Daroro tribe depends on the accuracy of Temple's statement that Nindam (a Kachichere village, according to the latest information) is "the only town in their occupation," that is, of the Daroro. It is of interest that the account of the founding of Jema'a Emirate given by Temple, who appears to have been unaware of any connection between Daroro and Kachichere, tends to support, by strong implication, Administration's innovation in nomenclature.[38] The Daroro were "conquered and drive out [of Kachichere territory] by the Fulani, *c.* 1805-10." to their present abode. It is also significant that the high plains "undulating and dotted with hills" between Kachichere Area and Jagindi have been known in former times by the name Kachichere Plateau.

The most recent population figures available are those of Mathews (1934):

Village [39]	*Population*
Akwa	114
Danguwa (Dangwa)	196
Nindam Kogo (Nindam)	206
Numbu	247
Zangan Kogo (Zankan)	259
Total	1,022

According to the traditions collected by Brice-Smith and others in Zaria, Aticherak claim to have been the "original" inhabitants of the present-day Katab tribal area, to have extended hospitality to Katab immigrants, and to have been crowded subsequently into the narrow pocket which they now inhabit by the armed incursions of Kagoro, Moroa (Asolio), and Aten. They may have some special affinity with Atsam (Chawai) their neighbours on the north; at Lungu, informants have stated that all Aticherak are related to Atsam of Pari (cf. Ungwar Peri or Fari (Pari) in Jema'a District). They were subjects, apparently willing ones and as such special favourites, of the Sarkin Kajuru, before the Jihad, as were Ikulu, Kamantan, even the Kachichere, Fulani and probably others among their neighbours.[40] It is not known to what extent Aticherak of Zangon Katab District maintain relations with their kinsmen of Nindam-Daroro.

traced ultimately to the influence of that petty kingdom, but it appears that Zangon Katab was founded by Kauru, and Zango's fame as a centre of craftsmen suggests a similar system. (It will be recalled that Kauru is reputed to have been founded by a man of Wadai; the chiefs of Kajuru are said to be Beriberi—Kanuri—in origin.) Cf. tradition relating to dispersion of Maguzawa smiths from the environs of Kano City in the 14th century, reported by Temple.

[38] "Jema'a was founded by Mallam Usuman. . . . He went to Zaria . . . and received permission to enter Kachichere territory, where, with a following of cattle Fulani, he settled in the neighbourhood of Jema'ar Daroro—which probably received its name from the people Daroro inhabiting that mountain."

[39] Whatever its traditions of origin, Administration regards Akwa as assimilated by the "aboriginal" Numana peoples of Jema'a District, though the traditions of a miraculous local origin of the Numana on the Kachichere Plateau may indicate some kind of an early link with Aticherak. The present-day list of villages recognized by Administration indicates considerable dispersal since 1934; the list includes Ungwar Angs, Ungwar Audi, Ungwar Madaki, Ungwar Magaji, Ungwar Makeranta, and Ungwar Umaru, in addition to Danguwa, Nindam Kogo, and Zangan Kogo (Numbu has disappeared from the list).

[40] Some of whom, however, appear to have resisted the claims of Kajuru.

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Ikulu

361 known whether the Village-areas themselves are compact territorial units, or whether the component hamlets of the three areas named are, perhaps, interspersed. It may be that each of the four " wife-stealing " units is to be found exclusively in a single Village-area, and the fact that there is one more " wife-stealing " unit than there are Village-areas does not preclude this possibility (cf. Agbat Kokwak and Shokwa, among Katab).

621 The apparent breakdown of the Aswen sub-clan, Katab tribe, into two equal political units (Village-areas) has been mentioned already. One of these, called Taligan[50] by Administration, may represent the emergence of a self-conscious Ikulu community in the Katab tribal area, though it seems more likely that it is simply a new Minyam sub-clan, and that " Ikulu " of Katab are " more Katab " than ever.

Traditions of Origin: Affiliations: Cultural Details

● 173 Nothing is reported directly concerning indigenous traditions of origin. The earliest speculation on the subject appears to be summarized by Temple, that Ikulu (as also Kamantam; see below) are " off-sets " of Kadara. Meek quotes the Kadara chief of Ankuwa (Kachia District) to the effect that Kadara, Ikulu, Kaje, and Srubu " are of the same stock " (Ikulu were actually counted as Kaje in the Census of 1931); one report states that there are ties (nature not specified) between the Kadara village of Agunu (Kachia District) and Ikulu.[51] In any case these tribes have certainly influenced each other as close neighbours, and the Ikulu are said to have introduced mat-weaving—typically a Kadara craft—into the Katab area. A closer linguistic affinity between Ikulu and Kadara may also be implied by Meek's description of Ikulu as " a section of the Kadara tribe."

105 Culturally, Meek declares Ikulu to be in all respects a participant in the Katab culture-complex, [52] with the exception that a man does not contract affinal marriage with his father's widows,[53] and that in the case of secondary marriage divorce is possible.

Distinctive cultural traits noted by Meek are as follows: as among Katab, the child is delivered in the father's compound and the mother returns to her parental compound for an undisclosed period after one or two months. A girl's marriage—including the collection of marriage-payments—is arranged by her paternal grandfather or by her father's elder brother. Formerly, marriage was by capture, without the girl's consent, and payments were made afterwards. A common grave is used by members of a family: though contrasting with general Katab practice, common graves are used by both Kadara and Kurama (formerly). The high god is termed *Agwa ɓan*, which Meek translates " lord of the moon."[54] There is said to be an annual spring festival (concerning which no details are given) and at acha harvest farms and houses are sprinkled with porridge made of the new corn. There appears to be a *dodo* cult among Ikulu identical with the common Katab *obwai*.[55]

Ikulu, like most of their neighbours, were apparently head-hunters.

[50] At Kwiambana Ikulu, in the Chawai tribal area, there appear to be two exogamous units, Ambaro and Taligan, which name is patently the same as that of the Katab Village-area. It is not clear, however, whether the Taligan of Kwiambana brought their name from the Katab Village-area or whether both brought the name independently from Ikulu.

[51] None of the names of villages and units cited above corresponds with names listed by Smith among either Ajure or Adara (Kadara proper) of Kajuru District, to the north, to indicate ties in that direction.

[52] Including even the *oyam*, apparently: Meek notes that Ikulu do not intermarry with northern Kadara of Kajuru (perhaps Ajure is meant) because Kadara women are naked.

[53] Their disposition is not indicated, though senior and junior levirate marriages obtain, as among Katab.

[54] Cf. Kaje, etc., *Agwam*, chief, Kaje *fuan*, moon. Katab and various other members of the group seem to have a high regard for the moon, though the Katab high god appears to be primarily a rain god.

794 [55] A. D. Percival, writing in 1932, describes the Ikulu *dodos* and states that " their ritual and their tall houses have . . . been spread by purchase throughout Katab." He is the only

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KAMANTAN
KAGORO
KAFANCHAN

TRADITIONS OF ORIGIN: AFFILIATIONS: CULTURAL DETAILS

The only account purporting to represent indigenous traditions of origin is Reynolds'; according to his information, Angan believe themselves to be Kagoro emigrants. Temple, on the other hand, calls the Kamantan tribe an " off-set " of the Kadara. Linguistic evidence seems to support Reynold's contention, nor has Meek alleged any particular connection with Kadara of Ankuwa (Kachia District), where he has done some research.[57] Whether any relationship, linguistic or otherwise, exists between Angan and other of their neighbours, such as Kagoma, Kuturmi or Koro, remains to be demonstrated.

So far as cultural affiliation with members of the Katab Group is concerned, " wife-stealing " is practised, as already noted, as well as affinal marriage, with widows of grandfather, father, and brother. Angan were also head-hunters and use the common Katab tribal markings. Meek's notes are not entirely clear on the subject of the *oyam* or in the matter of the distinctive Katab-type house; in his lists of tribes subscribing to these two traits he fails to name Kamantan but does not explicitly except it from the Katab Group on these counts (as he does Kagoma, on the count of the *oyam*, for example).

The Angan high god is called Shenya—conceivably cognate with Ashila of Kurama, though the hypothesis cannot be proved on the basis of any materials at present available. Meek notes the belief that pythons contain the souls of living men and may not therefore be killed; a python found dead is buried but may not be touched. He also found some indication of special respect for the rock coney (hyrax) at Ashin village—whether among members of both exogamous units, specifically stated to be not related, is not clear.

KAGORO (AGOLOK) AND KAFANCHAN

LOCATION: POPULATION

The great bulk of Kagoro (Hausa corruption of Agolok [*g* with lip-rounding] or Agwolok)[58] inhabit Kagoro Independent District of Zaria Province, administered through a tribal chief, and separate from Zaria Emirate.

Population (N.A. Census, 1949–50)	*Area*, Kagoro District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
12,966	66 square miles	196 per square mile

Of the total population of the District, 10,566 were Kagoro.[59] As regards density, Smith states that over a quarter of the area is a rocky massif and if arable land alone is considered the density is probably more like 300 per square mile.

Outside Kagoro Independent District, there is a sizeable Kagoro population only in Jema'a District, Jema'a Emirate-Division, Plateau Province, in territory immediately south of Kagoro District.

Population [60]	*Area*, Jema'a District (Census of 1930)	*Density*
19,917	676 square miles	29 per square mile

[57] According to one report, however, Ankuwa claims a Zonkwa origin (Kaje area), and " the dialect differs distinctly " from that of other Kadara (cf. Meek's information on Ankuwa's relation to Kaje and others, cited under Ikulu, above). Ankuwa is said to lie on the cultural boundary between Kadara and Kuturmi, it should be noted.

[58] Meaning uncertain. Rendered Aguro by Morwa, Agwot by Katab.

[59] In 1948–9, the Kagoro tribal figure was given as 9,258; in 1947–8, 8,999; showing a rise in population of approximately 14% and 3% respectively, or an average of 8.5%. The degree of accuracy represented in these figures is questionable.

[60] Total population, all tribes in District: the figure given here, presumably returned by an N.A. Census, was found entered in the Divisional Notes on Procedure, at Kafanchan, date uncertain, but possibly as recent as 1948. On the basis of the number of adult males returned by the N.A. Census of 1947–8 (7,466), and the ratio of adult males to the total population indicated by the Census of 1930 (about 34%), the figure seems quite reasonable for 1948.

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Kaje

or maximal lineage, members recognize a direct descendant of their common ancestor as their head (*gado kapiyi*, in Hausa, Magajin gada). His direct interest within the major lineage is more intense than that of the *atiyinhwap* in the maximal lineage. After the *gado kapiyi* has beaten the ground with his stick no one in the major lineage would dare to disobey. Again, in the minor lineage, composed of a number of extended families, the head is *atiyinswot*, "father of the cluster." Although the position is usually hereditary, the son or blood-brother being preferred, it may be held by the senior elder of the minor lineage.[112] His powers are more limited than those of the *gado kapiyi*, but if he beats the ground with his right hand no one of the minor lineage would dare to disobey. All game killed by members of the lineage must be brought to him for distribution. The head of the extended family (minimal lineage) is *atiyikariyi*, "father of the compound."

According to Reynolds, "the *atiyinhwap* of the Baiduang tribal section is recognized as the final authority in affairs affecting the welfare of the tribe. This authority was not used to interfere in affairs of a maximal lineage other than his own, and he had no political authority," which is to say that there was no formal tribal government. He might, however, call together all *atiyinhwap* "to perform rites for the benefit of the whole tribe," an expedient to which, apparently, he has not resorted since the advent of British Administration.

Before the British, only two civil titles were recognized by Kaje villages, *agwam*, the name given by Kaje to the Fulani tribute collectors, and *madaki*, who was chosen by the *agwam* whom he served as "helper." The *agwam* were first chosen by the *atiyinhwap*, but later, when their number increased and where the major lineage was the political unit, the *gado kapiyi* would make the selection.

Much the same procedure seems in the matter of civil headships to have been followed in the early years of British Administration, but it is suggested that these titles have by now become in effect hereditary in certain lesser lineages. In recent years a few ritual leaders have shown some interest in the possibility of obtaining civil titles either for themselves or for close relatives.

TRADITIONS

According to Reynolds, Baranza (the founding ancestor) and his relatives left Miango[113] because of a famine. They came down from the hills and after spending a short time with the Chawai eventually settled at Kurmin Bi, a hamlet of Zonkwa Village-area. There, according to Reynolds' informants, Kaje, or Kurmin Bi, was born. In Reynolds' opinion they do not mean that a son was born to Baranza, but rather that the tribe's development stems from Baranza's taking up residence with his family at this place. Nevertheless the ancestors of the Kaje clans are termed by present-day Kaje the grandsons of Baranza, hence, presumably, the sons of Kaje (Kurmin Bi). These grandsons were Sokwap, Kaduan, Dando, Atun and, according to members of Baintsok section, a fifth, Atom, whom Baintsok claim as their ancestor. Sokwap was the first to break away from Kurmin Bi and he settled on the Kamuru (Kaje) hills. He was followed by Dando and then Kaduan. Finally, so the Baintsok hold, Atom broke away and went to Tsofon Gida. Atun remained at Kurmin Bi. The sixth "tribal section," is composed entirely of assimilated alien lineages. A summary of Reynolds' analysis of the various sections follows.

Baiduang: men of Duang (a stream): It appears that the six constituent major lineages of Baiduang are organized as a single maximal lineage. Traditionally Baiduang is said to have been exogamous; nowadays the exogamous unit is a local association of major lineages. Formerly Baiduang was also a unit as regards secondary marriage, but in recent years young men of each of the two Village-

[112] In function, Reynolds states that the present-day hamlet-head is most nearly the equivalent of the old *agwam*. As already mentioned, he fails to indicate the actual title of the hamlet-head under British Administration.

[113] An Irigwe (tribe) Village-area, Birom Tribal Area (District), Jos Division, Plateau Province. See map.

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KAJE
JABA

Jaba country is an extension of the Kachichere Plateau of Zangon Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Jema'a Districts, described by Temple as undulating, becoming rugged to the south with thick belts of kurmi in the north. It is watered on the north by the headwaters of the Gurara River, and there are innumerable streams throughout the district which become considerable torrents in the wet season. The soil on the lower level is a rich loam and marshy. 133

The fragmentary traditions ascribed to Jaba suggest an origin in the north, and the gist of Lungu tradition, collected by Hyne (1916) and summarized by Mathews, seems to be that at the time of Moslem expansion in this area (*c.* 1840) eastern Kachia District was the main centre of Jaba settlement, the implication being that the region now designated Jaba Independent (Kwoi) District was occupied only thereafter, under Moslem pressure, by Jaba resisting the Moslem advance (see also below). 173

Economy

Jaba are outstanding as growers of ginger which seems to have been grown in the area at the time of the first reported contact with Europeans, early in this century. Normally their crop—which is of a species not widely valued and not cured in a manner generally acceptable to world-market consumers—is disposed of locally to Hausa and Kanuri traders, who retail it chiefly at the great Kano and Yerwa (Maiduguri) markets. Administration has attempted to " improve " the local product with an eye to the European market, and to introduce the crop among the neighbouring tribes (Kadara, Kaje, Ikulu and others), while at the same time improving market facilities. It is probably too early to estimate the value of these efforts, however. 249

Otherwise, available details suggest that the economy of Jaba does not differ markedly from that of, say, Katab proper, though Jaba of Kachia are in some respects more conservative. The Jaba of Kwoi are more progressive than the Kagoro, although less favourably situated, particularly as regards rail and motor road. Differences of population density (cf. 19 in Kachia with 79 in Jaba Independent District) and in the political situation are at once symptomatic and the cause of the difference in attitudes. 433

As already noted, Jaba of Kwoi were committed to resistance against the Fulani Emirs, while Jaba of Kachia value peace more highly, and the *status quo* which, at peace, they were paradoxically able to preserve under Moslem rule. Endemic warfare, as Cole points out, must have led to the prudent scattering of family holdings in land (cf. Kagoro), in Jaba Independent District, which did not happen in Kachia. The result has been that, as Cole says, the Jaba Kwoi are " a poverty stricken people " compared with Kachia, " who can run to only one wife apiece as a normal rule whereas they [the Kachia Jaba] can run to four or five—even ten on occasions."[134] The Jaba Kwoi youths are " an irresponsible lot " in the eyes of Kachia Jaba, " who go running off to the mines to make money and do not look after their lands properly," while their own youths stay at home and become good farmers on the family land. 648 511

Dress

In dress women generally conform to Katab norms, but Meek indicates that in Kwoi Town women had taken to wearing cloth garments. Tremearne states that Jaba males commonly wore loincloths, rather than skins (cf. Kagoro), even at the outset of contact, though there is an indication that skin was worn on ritual occasions. In facial markings, as in housing, Jaba follow Katab patterns. 291

[134] Whether the exaggeration is Cole's or Jaba informants' is not clear; the only available clearly relevant figures (Barnicot, 1939) show 114 adult males, 123 adult females at Kwaturu in Kachia.

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Jaba
Kagoma

As suggested already, the *ku* cult, like the Katab *obwai*, appears to function as a device for the control of women. Even if held in some contempt by the initiated, privately, it apparently still looms large in the sum of religious beliefs of women and children, hence of the whole community. Bringing together Meek's account of initiation and Temple's account of the memorial feast at "the Magajin dodo's house" (almost surely a reference to the *ku* priest), it would appear that the Jaba *ku* cult is, paraphrasing Meek's description of the Katab *obwai*, "a public cult associated apparently with the private ancestral cult."

According to Meek, "all Jaba are believed by the neighbouring tribes to be wer-animals."[127] Members of the "Madaki's ward" of Kwoi, for example, are believed to have the power of turning themselves into leopards. No member of the ward may kill a leopard, and if members of, for example, the Chief's ward should kill one they bring the carcase to the sacred rock near the Madaki's ward and shout, "We have killed your son, come and bury him." They then run home, for if they were caught they would be charged with murder. The carcase is taken to the sacred hut by the Madaki men where it is ceremonially skinned, with the finger nails instead of a knife, which is taboo. It is eaten ceremonially by grown-up men, boys receiving some of the "juice." Meek did not discover any other specific associations between local and kin groupings and natural species. As has been noted above, under *Life Cycle*, girls are said to be "initiated into the wer-animal rites," but the passage describing this is not easy to interpret.

No investigator has commented on the influence of the single Protestant mission, long-established in the area, on indigenous religious beliefs, or on any other aspect of Jaba culture.

Kagoma

Location: Population: Affiliations

The bulk of the Kagoma "tribe" inhabits the Kagoma sector of the Kagoma-Yeskwa District, the westernmost district of Jema'a Emirate and Division, Plateau Province (see below).

The last available complete figures for the Kagoma of Jema'a date from 1934, when Mathews estimated the population of their sector at 6,126 pagans and 120 Moslems (who are likely to have been largely Hausa, Fulani, and Rumada). Their chief villages here appear to be Fadan Kagoma (seat of the Moslem District head), Asau (Aso), Gabi, Gigira, and Keya. There is a Kagoma salient in the Yeskwa sector of the District, along the Zaria border, centring about the village of Kwarabe. Also in the Yeskwa sector, along the unofficial boundary between the two sectors and east of Kwarabe, lie the villages of Kano, Kirti, and Kusan: these are apparently Kagoma in origin and if so no doubt still have a Kagoma population, but are classified nowadays by Administration as Jaba, having apparently received over the years numbers of immigrants from Jaba Independent District, Zaria Province, in search of farm-lands (on loan, according to Cole).[128] One village or hamlet of unknown size, Unguwar Dogo, lies immediately south of Jagindi, in Jema'a District. Kagoma settlements are to be found outside Plateau Province, beyond the border of Jaba District, in the vicinity of Kurya, and along the border of Yeskwa District in Benue Province near Gitata, with populations of 484 and 85 respectively. The total number of Kagoma may thus be as little as 7,000 at present.

Only Temple's figure for the area of Kagoma settlement—166 square miles—is available, making a density of population of 42 per square mile, perhaps an excessively low figure, since the Kagoma area is an extremely rugged one, broken by an 800-ft. escarpment, the southern half deeply cut by kurmi.

Traditions of origin seem to be lacking, though Mathews reports that Kagoma in the region of Kirti "say that they sprang from places in the hills near where they now live."

[127] Cf. in particular Butawa, farther above.
[128] Kwagiri in this same area is identified on Divisional maps at Kafanchan as Kaninkon.

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Kagoma

585 of marriage before leaving them alone together. The following morning the groom's mother gives a feast to the inmates of her own house, and a month later the bride's mother sends two calabashes of tuo to her son-in-law's house, whence he distributes them to his friends and to the elders of the village as proof that the marriage has taken place.

587 When a man marries a second time the above formula is omitted. He gives the girl's parents a hoe and 4,000 cowries, after which the girl goes to him of her own accord, but if she delays doing so for more than a year after the dower is paid he can claim it back.

586 Desertion is considered no crime, and if a woman leaves her husband soon after the marriage, the dower is refunded to him by his wife's parents, but if she has remained with him for four or five years he has no claim. Her new husband pays her parents a hoe and 4,000 cowries.

575 173 The difficulties that have arisen from this laxity of morals are met by the following device:

"As far as this district is concerned the idea of forming a 'Dodo' society originally started in the village of Agabi, a number of years ago. Two men were bewailing the fact that their wives were constantly running away from them and that their children were getting out of hand. They put their heads together to seek a remedy.

"Eventually they took a gourd from the 'Kukan Chikki' tree, and after scraping it hollow, placed some kind of parchment over its mouth. In the middle of the night this was blown with terrifying effect (the noise is very like that produced by a comb and piece of paper). The women were very frightened and hid themselves. They were subsequently told this was the voice [176] of the 'Dodo'—a mythical spirit well known in Haussaland—rebuking them for their misdeeds. The women all promised atonement.

"The news of the Agabi 'Dodo' soon spread and people came in from the neighbouring villages, curious to hear all about it. Men were let into the secret, but had to swear under penalty of death never to tell their women or children the real origin of this new-found power over them.

575 [344] "The 'Dodo' soon became universal in every village, and each had its own particular 'kurmi,' where 'Dodo' gatherings took place. This tended to still further impress and mystify the women. Only married men were eligible for election, and not until they had been married for two or three years.

"As a rule, initiation into the 'Dodo' society was reserved until such time as there were some ten or twenty young married men ready to be elected. Their wives were informed of the impending ceremony, and on the appointed day had to cook goats or chickens provided by the candidates. The cooked

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the day that they begin to walk their father invites the whole village to a beer orgy. 852

The ceremonies that take place upon death are identical with those practised by the Jaba. A Kagoma widow, however, only mourns for one month and can marry again in the second. Under no circumstances can a woman inherit. 764 [587] [428]

They believe that a departed spirit can return to earth as a shooting star and re-enter upon a fresh sphere of human existence. 775

Sons inherit the whole property, but the younger brother of the deceased has the first choice of the widows. Failing sons, brothers inherit. 428

They believe in an all-powerful god. 776

KAGORO.

AUTHORITIES:

Mr. H. F. Mathews. Major Tremearne.

The Kagoro have a population approaching some 8,500 in number and occupy an area of about 110 square miles in the Jemaa Division, on the northern and western faces of a ridge of mountains, known as Kagoro, which runs from Bauchi into Nassarawa. 131 161

Most of the towns are built at the foot of these hills, where the land is very fertile and large crops of corn, principally maiwa, which is almost exclusively used for drink, and beans are raised. The beans are the property of the women and are grown on trellises, like vines, and form the principal food of the people. Manure from fowls, and goat-dung and ashes are used. Cattle are not kept and there are no markets. 361 241 [273] [230]

In old days the Kagoro lived underground and went to their farms through underground tunnels, owing, they say, to the place being over-run with wild beasts. The villages are now surrounded with high cactus hedges, which grow to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet. In most cases each compound and each field is encircled by one of these. At the entrance the hedges overlap on the principle of a swivel-ring for keys. The walls of the huts are of mud and the roofs of thatch, which latter are renewed every year after the harvest. Each woman has her own house, which is accessible through one, or sometimes two, doors, two and a half to three feet in height. The entrance commonly leads into a low narrow verandah, but sometimes straight into a sort of hall which runs along the whole width of the house, and is used for storing pots, etc. A feature of the doorways is that each one is double and in between each is 173 361 342

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Kagoro

868 The Kagoro are fine warriors and from boyhood upwards practise games of war, throwing stones, taking cover, wrestling,
721 scouting, etc. Before the commencement of a war a general is appointed, and if they have entered into alliance with others the originating tribe takes command. Scouts are used and a
726 reserve is kept, and if they are driven out from a town they smash the hives so that the bees may settle on the invaders.

Boulders are rolled down from the hills, slings and stones, knives, wooden clubs and bows and arrows are all used in warfare.
411 These latter have iron heads with flanges, and the shafts are so notched that each warrior can recognise his own arrow. It is said that they did not know the use of bows and arrows before their migration, and that they only learnt to use arrow-poison from the Attakka at the end of the nineteenth century. Stockades
712 are unknown. Round hide and fibre shields are used for defensive purposes.

728 When about to enter upon a treaty of peace each party constructs a broom of grass, similar to that used for lighting fires, so that the foe may be exposed if treachery at night is contemplated. The principals then advance to the boundary, each bringing with him a he-goat, the throat of which is cut and the blood smeared on a certain tree or stone, over which three incantations have already been uttered. The heads and skins are set aside for the benefit of the respective high-priests, and the rest of the meat is divided lengthwise, one half of each goat being eaten by the opposing forces, who are seated at some distance from one another. They then separate, each party being accompanied by three hostages, whose persons are regarded as sacred.

643 The Elders of the tribe selected as Chief one of their royal blood,
● 173 subject to the British Resident's approval, that is to say since
177 1905, when the first British expedition marched against them. Prior to the British occupation they had once appealed to the Sarkin Jemaa as an impartial authority to settle a dispute concerning the appointment of their Chief, but with that exception conducted their own affairs through councils of heads of families, who composed the courts and advised the Chief. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century they had no Chief, but at that time the Kaje inflicted a severe defeat upon them and exacted an annual tribute of two slaves. The Elders each gave a child from his family in rotation, until a man named Gundong said that if he were made Chief he would provide the tribute. He then struck a cotton tree, from which a young man and maiden magically issued, and he founded the dynasty of Kagoro Kings. It is related that the tree withered on the day of his death.

727 However that may be, the Kaje did not long receive their
885 tribute, but every year subjected the defaulters to a slave raid. From this time the Kagoro themselves took to slave-raiding

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Kaje

KAIBI.

The Kaibi inhabit the western part of the Guri Srubu hills, in the Sarkin Kauru District, Southern Division of Zaria Province, together with their neighbours the Rishua, Ruruma, and Rumaya (Dan Galadima District), each of whom speak their own language or dialect.

They are all pagans, but a few of the Rumaya have become converts to Islam.

They were first administered in 1907, and are described as backward peoples.

The only notes concerning them refer to the Kaibi.

Betrothals are made when the principals are children. It is customary for the girl to sow corn and rice and carry them when harvested to her suitor.

The marriage is celebrated when the couple have attained puberty.

A man accused of murder was conducted to the tsafi place outside the town, and asked whether he could swear his innocence by the great god Kashiri, on an arrow, in the following terms: "I swear by Kashiri that this is the truth. If I lie may this arrow kill me. When I shoot may the arrow turn backwards from my bow and pierce my body and kill me."

KAJE.

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The Kaje, or Kajji, occupy an area of some 166 square miles in the Jemaa Emirate of Nassarawa Province, where they number some 6,000, men being in preponderance over women, and the Maaji District of Zaria Emirate, where, together with the Jaba, they number some 2,000.

They have a tradition that they once lived on a big river, and that they took part in a general migration from West to East, though Zaria is mentioned vaguely as their place of origin.

They show affinity to the Katab, Kagoro, Moroa and Attakka tribes, though at one time they conducted successful warfare against the Kagoro. Those still living in Zaria Province state that many groups broke off from the main body.

Though they are closely allied to and intermarry with the Attakka their languages are distinct. They all speak Haussa.

[This is not a sub-group of the Katab.—Analyst]